SECTION I. PERSONAL STATUS

CHAPTER I. THE FAMILY AND THE CLAN

1. Generalities

596 The family sensu stricto (rugo) (1) is more inclusive than in

[196] 1. The rugo is the enclosure in which are the hut, the granaries, and the stables. By extension, this word designates the family in the strict sense of the word. In the plural: ingo.

our countries. It includes the father; his wives and their children, whether married or not; the father's brothers; and their wives and children. Formerly, the slaves taken in war (abanyagano) (2) were

●[567]

2. Cf. also Marriage, p. 15; Birth and Filiation, p. 29; Government and Administration, Nationality, p. 70; Social Classes, p. 91; Right of War, p. 92.

also part of it.

[566] The Bahutu, serfs of the Batutsi, have their own rugo. The Ruanda family is of the patriarchal type. Filiation counts in the [611] paternal line (3); the child does not necessarily take the name of his

3. The children are nevertheless considered, in a way, as belonging to both father's family and the mother's. The Banyarwanda say: Umuntu akomoka iwabo wase nanyina, that is to say, "the man proceeds from both (families), his father's and his mother's."

596 591 father (4); paternal authority is exercised by the father, and the wife

4. This was even rare before European penetration.

583 A young man may carry off a young girl (kwiba umugeni) in order to force the consent of her parents. But the young man's father subsequently gives a dowry.

588 There are ibyomanzi (vagrant women) who stay with a man for indefinite period of time according to the circumstances of their wandering lives (kubuyera or kohoha). The fate of these unions is obviously precarious. If, against all probability, their common life lasts for several years, the woman may introduce her concubinary to relatives [or parents]. If children are born, the man may be obliged to give a dowry. The marriage is then regularized.

583 It may also happen that two men, each with a sister whose dowry they may claim, will exchange wives: abageni b'ubuntu bunyuranye (lit., the betrothed as gifts).

In all these marriages the fate of the wife and children is the same as in the typical marriage. If the husband does not pay any dowry, the wife's father may take the children away and keep them as hostages until their father has fulfilled his obligations.

567 583 Formerly, children who were prisoners of war (abanyagano) married later, usually amongst themselves. The master could also give a captive girl in marriage to one of his clients. He collected the dowry but on the other hand, he had to pay a dowry for one of his slaves who wanted to marry a woman of the same region.

The slave, his wife, and their children continued to be part of the master's household. If one of these children wished to get married in his turn, his father would pay the dowry for his son or collect it for his daughter, and by that very act, his son or daughter was freed and became munyarwanda.

567 If the master married a slave woman, the children of this union would be of the same status as their [20] father, even if he already had other children with a munyarwanda woman.

2. Types of Marriage

595 Polyandry does not exist in Ruanda.

Polygamy (polygyny) is universal, except among the Christian natives, and particularly among the Bahutu, who have an average of two or three wives and sometimes even four or five.

The Batutsi most often have two wives. The great chiefs have, in addition to their wives, a certain number of insholeke (concubines).

848 girl, the girl's father takes over the child.
851 In the past, during the wars, the owner of a woman slave
● [36] sometimes married her. The children of this marriage were considered legitimate and [37] had their fathers' status, even if he already had children from marriage with a munyarwanda wife.

Children born of the master and a woman slave were also considered legitimate.

CHAPTER V. PATERNAL AUTHORITY

593 The patria potestas is exercised by the father. In the past it implied the right of life and death over his children. Today the father does not have such power, but his authority still remains sovereign and extends even over married sons. The latter must in particular, give him cows if he asks for any to increase his herds and to replace animals that are sick or have died.

A bad son can be cursed by his father and driven out of the family and even from the hill (igitshibwa or ikivume, the accursed one). He goes off with empty hands, and his brothers divide his property.

As a counterpart to his authority, the father is obligated to support his children and to establish his sons by paying the dowry.

The children must obey their mother as well as their father.

[604] Simiarly they must be deferential to their paternal uncles and aunts, and to a lesser degree, to their maternal uncles and aunts. Sisters must obey their brothers, and younger brothers, their older ones.

603 The loss of paternal authority does not exist as such. If the
604 father is unworthy or incapable, the grandfather or paternal uncle has charge of the children. [38]

CHAPTER VI. TUTELAGE AND EMANCIPATION (1)

1. Cf. also, Inheritance, Guardianship of Children, p. 60.

429 When the father is dead, usually one of his brothers watches over the widow and orphans. In the absence of a paternal uncle, guardianship goes to a maternal uncle.

563 of the ubugaragu contract, can be integrated into the Ruanda society (1). But if a Mututsi of Urundi settles in Ruanda with his

1. There are also Banyarwanda Bahutu who go and settle in Urundi.

abagaragu, although he is the equal of the Batutsi of that country, he and his household are nevertheless considered as foreigners (2).

[166]

2. These migrations are caused by the desire to escape personal vengeance following the accusation of murder, a sentence of banishment pronounced by the king of Urundi, or difficulties encountered by a client in his relations with his patron.

727 In the past, at the time of the wars, the vanquished who were
●567 taken prisoner were killed, while the women and the boys and girls were carried off to slavery. A Mututsi could [85] even marry a woman prisoner if she were of noble origin; the children held their father's status. But as a rule he gave her in marriage to one of his clients; the children of such a marriage continued to belong to the master's household, but their descendants were free and thus became Banyarwanda.

567 A slave might even marry a Mututsi woman. It was thus that the Mwami Rwabugiri, who had captured a young man called Rusera Muhima, later gave him his own daughter in marriage and made him a present of the subdistrict of Rugarama in Bunyambiriri.

2. Royal Power

643 The Mwami (king) has supreme authority in Ruanda. We have
173 seen that all the traditions ascribe a divine origin to his power. The annalists of the Royal Court (abatshurabgenge) attribute to the present Mwami Mutara Rudahigwa, thirty-nine ancestors who, with the exception of the first, Nkuba, who remained in heaven, have all ruled over Ruanda (1).

1. Many names have certainly been omitted from this list. Assuming that

575 563 668 The propagandists are mostly women who claim they are possessed by the spirit of Nyabingi. Every Nyabingi woman has at her disposal a certain number of abagirwa who are her servants but who often exploit for her the naïve Bahutu by exacting from them presents supposedly intended to honor Nyabingi [by inducing them] to thank her for protecting them from the Batutsi and even from the Europeans.

The Nyabingi sect has therefore a very harmful influence, not only because it keeps the Muhutu in worthless beliefs and takes advantage of his credulity by exacting from him large presents (baskets of peas, beans, and sorghum, and also sheep, goats, bull calves, and heifers) but especially because it preaches respect for an authority independent from the Mwami and excites hatred of the Batutsi chiefs and also of the occupying power. [105]

15. Social Classes

563 565 The Bahutu, dominated by the Batutsi, with the addition of a few groups of Batwa, constitute the population of the Banyarwanda.

But the Bahutu, like the Batutsi, are subdivided into several categories, each having a special name.

565 The poor Muhutu who has only a miserable patch of land, is called umutindi. If his poverty is less great, his name is umugabo. An umukungu is a man who is well provided for, owning several fields and numerous heads of cattle.

Similarly, according to their progressive wealth, the Batutsi are umukene, umukire, umutunzi, and umutware. The abatware make up a restricted aristocracy called imfura.

554 558 As we have seen, the favor of the Mwami or of the great chiefs may have the effect of appreciably improving the social position of even a ordinary Muhutu. On the other hand, an important chief may be reduced to the most miserable condition if he has displeased the king or if he has been cursed by his father.

[563] The Batwa are all on the same footing and are universally despised by the Bahutu as well as by the Batutsi.

727 567 In the past, enemy warriors were usually massacred. The noble women, reduced to slavery, were considered as Batutsikazi;

727 the Bahutu women became abaja (servants). The little girls had the
●567 same fate as the women. The boys were treated like the Bahutu (1).

1. Cf. also: Personal Status, the Family and the Clan, p. 4; Marriage, p. 14; Birth and Filiation, p. 25; Government and Administration, Nationality, pp. 70 and 71; Right of War, (see below).

[106]

[701] The warriors did not constitute a separate caste. All the
564 able-bodied men, Batutsi as well as Bahutu, had to take arms when the country was invaded.

[191] Similarly, the soothsayers, sorcerers, rain makers, and the numerous court officials at Nyanza did not make up closed castes.

16. Right of War

721 In the past, Ruanda has had many great wars with all the neighboring countries, particularly with Karagwe, Gissaka, Kivu, and Urundi.

When the frontier guards (abanyarugerero) noticed suspicious troop movements, they notified the Mwami who summoned his
[787] Council of Ministers and then consulted the auguries. If these were favorable, war was decided on. An intumwa was sent to the frontier of the two countries, and crying out from a distance, declared the opening of hostilities. The Banyarwanda warriors, both Batutsi and
726 Bahutu, fought together in regional campaign corps. The supreme chief of the army chosen for the duration of the war from among the abatware had the title of umugabe w'ingabo. During the battle the troops were preceded by abahenyi, entirely naked Bahutu who shouted insults at the enemy.

The Mwami sent an emissary to summon the enemy to surrender. If the enemy capitulated, a messenger accompanied by one from Ruanda came to notify the Mwami of the surrender and then returned to his country.

727 The male prisoners were usually massacred, and their women and children led to Ruanda. Booty, consisting mostly of cattle, was

357 567 The domestic bondsmen, the servants, are an important element in the social structure and the economic life. Neither in Urundi nor in Ruanda does slavery exist -- or rather, it no longer exists. In fact, the Batussi do not need slaves for the Bahutu are all bondsmen of the Batussi rulers and provide all the services that are required of slaves in other parts of East Africa. On the other hand, until the turn of the century, there existed quite a brisk slave trade out of Urundi to other areas. This was carried on under the influence of the Arabs and the coastal dwellers, with the Wawira, Bassuwi, Wassumbwa, and Wanjamwesi acting as middlemen. Not only did the Barundi sell their countrymen as slaves, in particular the women and girls, but also orphans were sold by their relatives, and even children by their own parents (No. 19, p. 212). The purchase price was paid in salt, pearls, and iron hoes. Pretty Batussi girls fetched the highest prices and were destined for the harems of the Arabs, prosperous coast Negroes, or the Wanjamwesi. As recently as 1900 there were public slave auctions in Uha (Heru) and in Usámbiro. Mainly slaves from Ruanda (Kissaka) and Urundi were sold there. A witness wrote at that time: "All the roads are full of slave trains, almost all of them women and girls. Eight out of ten female slaves perish, for these children of the mountains only rarely survive in a different climate" (No. 14, 1900, p. 178). At present, as the German occupation progresses, these atrocities have been stopped, and only rarely and under the cloak of secrecy is a girl or a child from Urundi sold into slavery in the neighboring areas.

357 597 592 [97] In Urundi itself, however, in the households of many influential families, especially of the Batussi, there are, instead of the domestic slaves, bond servants or maids (abaschumwi). Although they are personally free, they have to work for the master and receive only room and board in exchange. They get their jobs by a kind of adoption; someone who has no relatives or who, for some reason or other, wants to leave his family will offer his permanent services to a prosperous Murundi or to a mutwale. The latter takes him into his home and treats him

357 like a member of the family (No. 19, p. 13). The adopted
597 person does the work around the house, tends the cattle, and
592 tills the fields, but he cannot acquire any property. If he wishes to give up his job and offer his services to another master, he may do so at any time, but the former master has so many indirect means at his disposal to force the servant to stay that most of those who have themselves adopted spend the rest of their lives with the same master.

592 Thus, the circle of dependents or retainers of any prosper-
554 ous and influential Murundi consists of these domestic servants,
573 of impoverished relatives and parasitic friends, fortune-hunting flatterers, and economic and political dependents of all sorts. Every day they pay homage to him in his kraal and accompany him wherever he goes. The greater the master's reputation, the larger is his entourage. It is rare that one sees a Mutussi of high status walking with an entourage of less than a dozen persons and often with as many as 20 to 30. In Urundi the entourage is called mafuatano; in Ruanda where the same institution exists it is referred to as bagaragu.

681 Debt slavery does not exist in Urundi. The Barundi, how-
[561] ever, have a great variety of very drastic punishments (ikihano) for violations of the law causing damage to life, limb, and property. In most cases the guilty party or his relatives or clan may atone for the misdemeanor or crime by a smaller or larger payment in the form of produce, cattle, salt, pearls, iron, etc. The amount is determined by the mutwale who acts as the judge (p. 94). If it is a case of a serious crime, manslaughter, murder,
628 or a serious injury, the kin group or clan vendetta (see p. 105)
672 becomes operative; this is done with the cooperation of the au-
681 thorities. The injured party or, if he has been killed, his kin group attempts to seize the wrongdoer by any means at their disposal. If the latter takes refuge in a neighboring province beyond the avenging arm of the injured kin group, an attempt will be made to catch one or several of his wives, children, brothers or sisters, close relatives, or members of his clan in his place. The captive is bound and locked up until his family obtains his freedom by paying a large amount of ransom money. This is forthcoming

438 often set out on journeys lasting several days to visit customers
484 and distant markets. They handle the trade between Mulera, Nduga, and Katana on Lake Edward, and their chief items of exchange are sheep and goats, iron, salt, and tobacco. The Bagoye handle trade between Bugoye and Bunyabungu and exchange large quantities of hoes for goats from Mulera.

123 The Bagoye are unprejudiced traders. For example, when they saw me collecting skulls there, they brought me some to buy. However, no one had the courage to touch a skull. They carried it either on a stick or wrapped in a banana leaf. It was a boy of eleven who first had the idea of demanding payment for skulls. Others followed, even adults, when they saw that the boy was well paid. In a short time they brought in over 200 skulls.

We must point out, however, that not everyone was enthusiastic about these transactions. After more careful investigation, it was discovered that all the skull collectors were people of the lower classes. They were bagaragu (1) of the others and orphans

1. Clients.

who had been taken into individual households as semi-slaves.
[626] After a few days, however, skull collecting stopped altogether, since the boys of the mission refused to eat with anyone who had collected skulls. When this news spread, I could not get any more skulls, and the last collector was thrashed.

The people were very much interested in knowing how much was paid for skulls in Europe.

567 Even today it is said that human beings are exported from Ruanda, not as voluntary emigrants and transient workers, but as slaves. I could find out little about this obscure problem. Since wives [164] are bought, it is very difficult to draw the line between a purchased slave and a purchased wife. In Kissaka the story goes that the Bassuwi come in large numbers to buy women and that they stay in Lukira. They are also said to re-sell the women in Tabora.

Dr. Kandt (1) says that there is a regular slave trade in the

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 435.

●567 northwestern part of the country. "The Wahunde [Hunde] annually sell hundreds of their children as slaves to Ruanda because their country is too small for their large families, and they do not have enough food."

443 Markets. Markets where people gather at certain hours of the day in order to exchange their goods are common only in the north and west. They seem to be entirely absent in the east. Dr. Kandt sees Western influence in the institution. (2) To me this does not

2. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, p. 332.

seem quite correct. In the first place, it also exists in Nduga, as I discovered for myself. Secondly, we have adequate reason to assume that Bahutu-Ruanda, before it was influenced by Batutsi, was very similar to the territories on the other side of the great African trough [Rift Valley]. It is possible that markets are a very old institution that survived only in the west and north. In the Batutsi provinces markets may have disappeared with the conquest, just as they vanished in the vicinity of the Belgian stations, especially in Uele, or, at any rate, they are hidden from the eyes of the conquerors. The latter have not infrequently confiscated market goods because no taxes were paid on them.

In Nduga I saw two markets offering iron hoes (iguliro lyi byuma). One was half an hour from Kwa Rutagungira in Bulamba, the other was located between Nyanza and Kabgaye on a hill three hours from the latter settlement. When I passed through, the market near Kwa Rutagungira was patronized by a great many smiths from Mount Ndisa. Below Marangara, on the Nyawarongo in Bukonya, there is a charcoal market. Charcoal is burned in the Tschingogo Forest and traded by the people of Chief Niamakwa of Bushiru for millet and old hoes.

Since olden times there has been a food market, open daily, in Nyundo on the Mission Bridge between Katebe Hill and the Ssebeya. The people gather early in the morning and leave between 11 and 12 o'clock. There is another market town in the northwestern part of Kisenyi.

487 438 to the Uganda railway. It seems that most of the cotton cloth and beads that one sees in Ruanda are also brought this way. Trade along this route is carried on chiefly by Indians from Kafuro, assisted by

[415 285]

Fig. 55. Traveling Basket from Ruanda. (1/8 actual size. III E 6986. 84 centimeters high.)

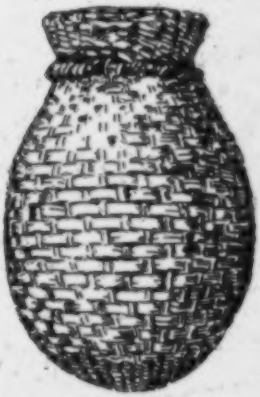

Fig. 56. Pot with Woven Wrapper, Mulera. (1/8 actual size. III 13746. 50 centimeters high.)

people of Kahigi. I reached this route on my trip from Nyanza by Lake Mohasi to Nsasa in Njakagungu, a day's journey south of the lake. On the way I met a trading caravan that exchanged cattle for its ten loads of cheap cotton material. This new traffic artery was formed to make a connection with the Uganda Railway.

2. The above route has cut off the old way from Tabora, via Ussuwi and Kissaka, to Nduga and robbed it of its former importance. [567] It is said that now this route has a branch along which the Bassuwi trade in women flourishes. It was along this route that Count Von Götzen entered the country, the first European to do so.

[169] 3. The route from Nduga via Mukinjaga to Bunyabungu is the export route for sheep and goats which are exchanged for iron. Along this route are traded the Mukinjaga mats, well-known throughout Ruanda.

Extramarital Relations. Not all women who share a household with a man are his regular wives (basumba kazi) with whom he has entered into a formal purchase marriage. Concubines and slaves (baja) are also kept in Ruanda. The concubines are [225] usually childless widows and abandoned or fugitive women. They settle wherever they find a relatively good refuge. The baja are sold by their parents when they are children, usually in exchange for food during a famine. They are simply women without ties, but who are otherwise very much like the other women and usually also have their own huts. Their children are likewise said to belong to the father's family, although they are not regarded as equal. Such children of Batutsi men, for example, are said not to be regarded as Batutsi although they have the same family name.

The chiefs grant baja to their clients, a practice which is even more clearly defined among the Azande and Mangbetu, for example. The baja, along with the cow, are the means whereby the powerful one binds his clients to himself and thus strengthens his power.

Just as a man can grant a cow to a client and also demand it back, so he can likewise put a muja at the temporary disposal of a favorite. Under these circumstances the entertainment of guests with women "who are to warm his bed for him" is quite understandable. The less esteemed guests are given baja; the highly respected guests, on the other hand, are honored by being offered regular wives.

In general, a man on a journey has at his disposal the wives of his blood brothers. Dr. Kandt (1) says that from certain social

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 177.

aspects this arrangement has its positive points: "Alternating connubium, that is, the interchangeable pairing of several male blood relatives with all their wives, as is permitted in Ruanda, prevents the loss of the female element in the preservation of the race, should the male element prove unfit."

565 [262] The privileged class consists almost entirely of Batutsi. Among the lower officials, represented by the community headmen, there are quite a number of Bahutu, especially in Bugoye. In Mulera and Bgisha there are Bahutu even among the lords of the king. The officials are commonly called batware (plural).

565 Next in rank are the warriors (ngabo). They are placed under
701 particular chiefs and perform no work in the chiefs' fields. In other words, they occupy their own land which their ancestors took possession of and cleared generations ago. After the Batutsi conquest they were not driven from their land, and the king recog-
[657] nizes their privileges. They pay only the ordinary taxes, but they must always be ready for war. On them rests the burden of the blood tax, from which the ordinary farmers (biletwa) are, at least theoretically, exempt.

Membership in the corps of ngabo is hereditary, but a person can be ousted from this privileged class as a punishment. On the other hand, I do not know whether there are cases of an ordinary farmer being raised to the position of ngabo.

[714] The insignia of the ngabo is the kigomero, the wooden ring which protects the archer against the recoil of the bowstring.

In the interior, for example, in Nduga, the ngabo are less numerous and are scattered on the hilltops among the rest of the population. There are many more of them in the border districts, and in Mulera, for instance, they make up almost the entire population.

565 Free farmers without land of their own (biletwa) make up the third class. They cultivate the land belonging to the crown and give the chief two or three days' labor out of a five- or six-day week. Besides that they must also pay taxes.

The fourth class consists of the pariah tribe of Batwa. They are hunters, potters, and rain makers. They are the police
[693] and also hangmen. Chief Songore, whose principal occupation at court is torturing criminals and very skillfully thrashing them with two small sticks, is said to be a Mutwa.

567 There are also slaves in Ruanda. The institution of slavery, however, has no importance, although the number of slaves in Bugoye and among the Batutsi of Nduga is said to be very considerable. As far as I know, the slaves here are chiefly women,

567 baja who were sold by their parents when they were children in exchange for food during the not infrequent famines. I was unable to find out anything in detail about the social position of boys who are sold in this way. I believe that when they grow up they are absorbed into the bagaragu stratum.

Every district that has periodic famines, for example, Ufumbiro [263], furnishes slaves who, unprotected by their relatives in a strange region, remain in an inferior position, dependent on the protection of their master. In every mission one can see a number of little slaves who have settled there to get away from their masters. On the whole, however, the position of slaves is not at all bad. I never heard of maltreatment.

565 [442] Loads are carried chiefly by the biletwa.[1] The Bahutu of this category have personal freedom. They may abandon their house and fields and change masters, as long as they do not leave the state. The batware on the border must see to it that people do not leave the country.

661 565 Actually, however, the existence of the common man is of no consequence, and he is tolerated only on the condition that he satisfies all the demands of the rulers. Often a native cannot simply give up his field and his hut without further ado. He must put up with minor depredations, ostensibly as punishment for alleged crimes. He must pay his taxes and provide food for travelers if the king requests it, although the mutware himself pockets the amount given.

In this primitive, undifferentiated society, however, the possibilities of exploitation are extremely limited. As long as it is simply a question of furnishing food for the relatively small number of rulers, the latter can be satisfied, no matter how large their appetites. Thus, the slight possibility of exploitation lays the foundation of a social equilibrium without legally established norms. Also, if we take into consideration the constant internal struggle of an unsettled state which is very much dependent on the support of the subject masses, we discover the second factor which sharply curbs tyranny. The rulers must consider their subjects, otherwise they run the risk of being abandoned by their followers and subjects and defeated by their rival. Political

[1] [i.e. Free farmers without land of their own—Analyst]

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

534 A chief wore two beads on each side of his head, but he
782 did not possess a drum and only used one when it was
634 necessary to propitiate some ghost which was troubling him.
[301] A drum was given to him for this special purpose, and he took it to his kraal, where he beat it for the benefit of the ghost.

[644] When saluting the king, the people knelt and clapped their hands.

534 There was always dancing at new moon, which was accom-
[535] panied by singing, by the music of the royal band, and by bells. The musical instruments consisted of drums and the horns of animals through which the musicians blew, while some members of the band had bells on their legs which sounded as they stamped to mark the rhythm.

Adoption

597 A man who had no son might adopt the child of some relative without any ceremony, but, as a man might take as many wives as he wished, it was not often that a husband was left without a son. If a boy who had been adopted committed some misdeed for which he was cast off by his new parents, his own parents would not take him back. He had to find means of atoning for his fault and gaining the forgiveness of his adopted parents.

597 If a man adopted a boy from a clan other than his own,
614 he took him to the fireplace, dropped some millet into the fire and said, "This is my own son and when I am dead he will attend to my needs." A woman naturally did not welcome
[578] an adopted son, for he was a standing rebuke to her.

Slaves

● 567 There were several classes of slaves:

(1) The conquered aborigines of the land who were really free but were regarded by the upper classes as slaves inasmuch as they did menial work for them.

(2) Household slaves. These were mostly women from among the free people who engaged of their own will in this

[Text continues on page 195]

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

567 kind of service. They could not be sold and might leave service and marry when they wished.

(3) Slaves who had been purchased or captured during wars or raids. These were also women and were seldom sold; when once a slave entered a family she remained there for life. Such slaves were often taken by their owners to wife, and their sons were regarded as legitimate and might inherit property.

CHAPTER XXXI

MARRIAGE, ILLNESS, AND DEATH

Forbidden relationships—initiation—arranging marriages—marriage ceremonies—taking home a bride—polygamy—entertainment of visitors—treatment of illness—death—burial—mourning—the heir—the widows

582 MARRIAGE between the descendants of a brother and sister was forbidden until they reached the fourth generation, that is, the great-grandchildren of a brother and sister might marry.

[881] There were no initiation ceremonies, but before the sons of princes or chiefs were considered to be of marriageable age, they had to prove that they were capable of settling some quarrel or lawsuit between men. The chief instruction given [869] to a youth was how to manage cattle, but he was also taught to cultivate the land.

584 Infant betrothals were common, and the parents of a boy might agree with those of a baby girl for their children to marry when of a suitable age. The boy's parents gave the others a cow as a pledge of the betrothal, and as long as they kept the cow the engagement was binding. If, however, the parents of the girl discovered any cause for breaking the pledge, they returned the cow with a message that the engagement was at an end. When a boy thus engaged came to a reasonable age, he was told of the arrangement and took presents of beer to his prospective father-in-law. When a boy

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

(about 1,000 miles from the two nearest sea-ports, Mombasa and Dar-es-Salaam), probably accounts for the country's long isolation from Arab and European contacts, in spite of its easily accessible frontiers in the north and south. Although slaves were occasionally sold to the African middlemen in touch with Arab traders operating in the neighbourhood of Ruanda, it seems that the traders themselves never penetrated the country. At all events Ruanda was never a regular place of supply. The first European reported to have been in the country was Count G. A. von Götzen, a German officer leading a scientific and military expedition across Africa from the Indian to the Atlantic Ocean. He stayed in Ruanda only for a few weeks, in 1894.

The interior highlands, which have been compared to the massif of Abyssinia and to the mountains of Bohemia, or even to Switzerland and Tibet, are not very large. Their longest north-south extent in a straight line is about 100 miles, the extent from west to east being about 140 miles. The area of present-day Ruanda is 26,338 square kilometres (10,166 square miles). In 1907 Professor Jan Czekanowski, a member of the Duke of Mecklenburg's expedition to Central Africa, estimated it to cover about 28,900 square kilometres.[2]

The climatic effects of equatorial latitude are mitigated by the elevation. In the Congo-Nile mountain chain the temperature may drop to freezing point, but the greater part of Ruanda enjoys a temperate climate. The average is about 20° C. (68° F.), and the maximal variations (which are greater between day and night than between the seasons) rarely exceed 10° C. (18° F.) above or under the average. In the eastern lower part the temperature is, of course, higher.

Similar distinctions must be made for rainfall in the high mountains of the west, the highlands of the middle country, and the Kagera lower region of the east. In the first region rainfall averages 1,250 mm. a year (50 inches), in the second it is between 1,250 and 1,000 mm. (50 and 40 inches) and in the third less than 1,000 mm. (40 inches).[3] These figures alone do not have very much bearing on soil fertility, as the significance of rainfall depends on other factors, such as volume and intensity of precipitations, declivity of ground, type of vegetation, and characteristics of the soil.

[2] Czekanowski, 1917, p. 114. [3] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 63.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

inter-caste marriage was not prohibited between Hutu and
564 Tutsi. Hutu informants say it happened frequently, Tutsi in-
582 formants claim that such marriages were very rare, but that Tutsi often had Hutu concubines. This discrepancy shows clearly that
[558] for a Tutsi to take a Hutu as wife in a primary marriage entailed a loss of prestige. It was resorted to mainly because of poverty.
[583] Bride-wealth was lower in these inter-caste unions (not in the sense that the standard bride-wealth among Hutu was much lower than among Tutsi) and a Hutu girl worked harder than a Tutsi. It does not seem on the other hand that the Hutu girl was particularly proud of having a Tutsi husband. But it is not easy to
[560] assess the feelings of a girl in that respect, as no informant seems to have cared very much about them. A prosperous Hutu could
[584] marry a Tutsi girl, but then the bride-wealth was often greater than for a Tutsi (three cows instead of one). It happened also that a Tutsi cattle-lord (*shebuja*) would grant a daughter to one of his Hutu clients. Here again the feeling of the girl was unknown to informants. Such a match could be eagerly sought by a Hutu
[557] social climber, but in general Hutu opinion did not look upon it with favour. In a caste society only a few atypical persons are anxious to get as near as they can to the higher stratum. Hutu and Tutsi informants considered any question suggesting inter-marriage with Twa as very insulting.

582 It was possible to marry a foreign woman, often a war captive
567 who had become a sort of domestic slave. The bride-wealth then had to be paid to her master. Sometimes Ruanda living near the
584 borders married a girl of the neighbouring people (such as Nkole,
648 Rundi) when peaceful relations with that particular people had lasted for some time. There was much reluctance to let a Ruanda girl marry an alien.

581 Within the borders of Ruanda, local proximity was an important positive factor for Hutu in the choice of a mate. They did not travel very much and as a marriage was primarily a patrilineage affair, they had to know the inzu of the prospective bride or groom and they only knew the groups residing nearby. Tutsi, and particularly those of importance, were less localized than Hutu. They had to go often to the court; they were appointed to administrative charges in one part of the country, then in another one. Consequently inter-regional marriage was favoured as it usefully extended kinship connexions.

What were the qualifications socially considered as the most

she must get her father or another relative to intervene for her with her husband. If she cannot do anything, she remains married but abandoned. Or, it may happen that an unfortunate Hutukazi without relatives can no longer endure a bad husband or is sent away by her husband or left a widow without property. Women of this kind become vagabonds who wander about the countryside, often with children, and who often enter voluntary slavery for the sake of food and a roof over their heads.

In the household, the mother-in-law is the superior of her daughters-in-law. According to the ideal, she is like their true mother. According to the proverb: the daughter-in-law waits for her mother-in-law's death so that she can at last be the mistress in her own house. A woman has good reason to fear her mother-in-law. She may persuade her son to send his wife away. She can poison a daughter-in-law she does not like, or she can overwhelm her with work. Among sisters-in-law, there is little friendship. The first one to be married into the household has in principle priority over the other sisters-in-law. If the husband of the first-ranking sister-in-law has just made four mortars for grinding grain, his wife will demand all of them for herself. Each of his brother's wives, no doubt, will also demand all four for themselves. The first one will probably have all of them, and the hatred of her sisters-in-law will surely result. Or, a Hutukazi may receive cloth and bracelets from her husband newly returned from Uganda. She loses no time in showing them to her sisters-in-law. The latter promptly ask their husbands for cloth and bracelets. If a woman has many children, her sisters-in-law not so many, or if one of them is preferred by the mother-in-law, the one thus favoured by fortune will be the object of the hatred of the others. This goes on, the men complain, this just goes on and on. Each woman nags her husband. The same story and even worse is told of the wives of a polygamist. One of the wives of a Tutsi or Hutu will normally be kept as the permanent wife, with the privileges of seniority. The second and third wives are often no more than servants, farm labour and child-producing machines. They do not usually last very long. The bride-price is taken back to replace those who die without having produced children and those who run away. The *umutoni*, the favourite wife, is probably not the very first woman that the polygamist married. Although she may at a given moment be the favourite wife, she must exert herself to prevent another from taking her favoured place, as she probably took it away from someone else. A second or third wife who is stronger, more fertile, or cleverer may upset the order of precedence.